UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Walnuts

By ZONA GALE

All Up for Outlawry!

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II Chapter I. By M. K. GANDHI

Geneva, Italy, and the Debts

By KIRBY PAGE

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began in this magazine on

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Contents

EDITORIAL— Page
Notes 35
Walnuts—ZONA GALE 37
All Up for Outlawry!—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 38
Editorial Correspondence: American Notes—SYDNEY STRONG 39

ARTICLES—
War—*Immanuel Kant* 35
The Story of My Experiments with Truth—Part II, Chapter I—M. K. GANDHI..... 41
A Christian Bishop on Gandhi—*Frederick Fisher* 42
Geneva, Italy, and the Debts—KIRBY PAGE..... 43

THE STUDY TABLE—
An Outline of Religion, The Gospel of Humanism, Old and New—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 44

CORRESPONDENCE—
Prohibition—The Other Side—KARL M. CHWOROWSKY 46
The Lake Denmark Explosion—VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW 46

POETRY—
Fears—MARGUERITE EMILIO 42

THE FIELD—
Uncle Sam Interviews Some Well Known War Neutrals—*John T. McCutcheon*..... 47
Development 48

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1926 NUMBER 3

WAR

Our rulers have no money to spend on public education because all their resources are already placed to the account of the next war. The nations will not really be civilized until all standing armies are abolished. . . . Standing armies excite states to outrival one another in the number of their armed men, which has no limit. Through the expense occasioned thereby, peace becomes in the long run more oppressive than a short war; and standing armies are thus the cause of aggressive wars undertaken to get rid of this burden. . . . If we compare the barbarian instances of inhospitality with the inhuman behavior of the civilized . . . states of our continent, the injustice practiced by them even in the first contact with foreign lands and peoples fills us with horror—and all this has been done by nations who make a great ado about their piety, and who, while drinking up iniquity like water, would have themselves regarded as the very elect of the orthodox faith.

—Immanuel Kant.

In Chapter VI (Part II) of Gandhi's Autobiography—which will appear in this paper on October 25th, next—the Mahatma describes his departure from India for South Africa. It was "in April, 1893," he says, "that I set forth full of zest to try my luck in South Africa." In the next chapter, he tells of his arrival in Natal, when "as the ship arrived at the quay, and (he) observed the people coming on board to meet their friends, (he) observed that the Indians were not held in much respect." This marks the beginning of Gandhi's experiences in South Africa, and of that marvellous non-resistant campaign against oppression which is one of the great spiritual dramas of all time. Part II of the Autobiography deals in detail with this immortal story.

Just what does the cancellation of our war debts, as proposed most recently by Secretary Newton D. Baker, mean? First of all, it means that the United States pays the war bills of the Allied nations to the amount of some $11,000,000,000. More specifically it means that we, the people of this country, the workers, the taxpayers, pay these bills. *Why?* Where in justice, or even in mercy, are we obligated to do this further favor for England, and France, and Italy, in addition to all the other things we did for them in 1917-18? If these nations were guiltless of responsibility for the war, if they were dragged helplessly into a conflict precipitated by ruthless invaders, if they fought, bled and died to save civilization from destruction, they might have a case for leniency. But they haven't! There is not a competent and informed historian in the world today who is not telling us that at the best, there was mutual responsibility for the war all around, and, at the worst, that Russia and France were more guilty than Germany. In addition, these nations, victorious through our help, walked away from Versailles with such a burden of loot and swag that they could scarcely totter. England's booty alone, we are told by one economist, will pay the whole cost of the War in a single generation. France is reaping in tons of shekels from German reparations; last year, payments on this account, under the Dawes plan, totaled 1,220,000,000 gold marks, of which sum France received approximately 507,000,000 gold marks, England 227,000,000, and Italy 78,000,000. And yet, for debts contracted in a war, largely of their own making, for ends of their own serving, we are asked to offer cancellation complete and final! In other words, in addition to giving much and taking nothing ourselves, we are to undertake to pay the bills of all these others. We ask again, *Why?*

But there is a second thing involved in this cancellation proposal. This idea means not only that we pay the war bills of the Allies, but also that we finance their present wars and future wars —finance all the nice little fighting they may want to do for the next one hundred years and more. Look at the situation as it actually exists today! France has not paid so much as a single debased paper franc on her war debt to the United States, either principal or interest, during the last seven years (1919-26). During this same time, she has armed and supported "white invasions of Soviet Russia, financed the Little Entente, loaned millions upon millions of francs to her bully underling, Poland, conducted long and costly military campaigns in Morocco, conducted and is still conducting a war in Syria which has shamed her honor as well as drained her treasury, invaded the Ruhr and supported armed forces in that district for over a year, built and is building all the 10,000-ton

cruisers that the stocks will carry, built and is building submarines of which no man knows the number, built and is building aeroplanes which hold England and the continent in terror. Plenty of money for these things—but not a worthless franc for honest debts honestly contracted in the United States! Now suppose these debts were wholly cancelled, as they have already been partly cancelled! Then, the last element of control, slight as it is, would be removed, and militarism in France would be freer and madder than ever. And so in less degree with Great Britain and in infinitely greater degree with Fascist Italy! Our cancelled debts, in other words, would automatically release billions of money for wars and preparation for wars. Which means that we would be financing not only the last war, but future wars as well. Again we ask, *Why?* And echo answers, *Why?*

In a personal letter we find a statement about one aspect of the Prohibition problem which is so cogent and pertinent, that we venture to quote it here. Says our correspondent:

> Why do you, in common with nearly all other Prohibition editors, turn almost all your heavy guns on the "wet" leaders and not on the real enemies of the Prohibition law, the present administration? Did you not see that when Mr. Ray resigned the other day in disgust from the head of the Prohibition forces of Pennsylvania he publicly stated that he was convinced that the government had no intention of enforcing the law, that on the contrary the lines were all laid for a return to the old order of affairs, and that he refused to be a party to any such crooked maneuvers? I lost all faith in the present Prohibition law nearly six years ago when Mr. Harding formed his cabinet of abominations and made the biggest distiller in the country the person responsible for the success of Prohibition. When such an unprecedented insult was paid to the law and to the honesty of the people (to say nothing of their sense of humor), and there did not go up to heaven a roar of protest from all avowed Prohibitionists, their cause was doomed to a shameful defeat. It was indeed a grim joke that was then played upon the law. The law is being brought into disrepute, and everywhere people are beginning to realize that such was and is the purpose of men entrusted with its enforcement.

In this indictment of ourselves and others, we believe our correspondent to be absolutely right. His description of the enforcement situation is correct throughout. At no time since the Volstead Act was passed, has there been any serious, sustained, thoroughgoing effort to enforce the law. This is as true today under Mr. Coolidge as it was true yesterday under Mr. Harding. The fact has been testified to by one discouraged enforcement officer after another, it is the despair of such an excellent official as the present assistant secretary, Mr. Andrews. The liquor law in itself is easy of enforcement; there are hundreds of laws—those against drugs and opiates for example—which are much more difficult to handle. Liquor has to be manufactured, transported and stored in huge bulk; the materials going into its production are simple and easily controlled; its effects are patent and disreputable. There is nothing here that can be hidden, *unless the government would have it so.* In the old days of local option and state prohibition, the whole truth was made known. When the government, local or state, *wanted* to enforce the law, it was done, easily, quickly and triumphantly. The same thing is true today. "Pussy-Foot" Johnson told the truth, in a recent article in a popular magazine, when he said, on the basis of his own experience in the old days as an enforcement officer, that this country could be made "dry" in six months. The Washington officials, however, police systems everywhere, most mayors and governors, many judges, don't want the country dry. Once let that truth sink in, and the scandal of the present situation becomes obvious.

There are some good pacifists among the Christian ministers of America, but they seem to be few in number and weak in spirit as compared with the clergymen of certain other countries. For example, we recently read that, in England, a group of some two hundred ministers had organized a movement to be known as the "Congregational Ministers' Crusade Against War." These ministers, we are told, have pledged themselves not only to oppose all war and all preparation for war, but also to refuse all personal war service whatsoever, which we presume includes service as army chaplains. In Switzerland a "Union of Anti-Militarist Ministers" has inaugurated a great peace campaign by sending out a letter of appeal to all churchmen. This appeal declares that anti-militarism is more than a sentimental dislike of war, and asserts that there must be deliberate work for the utter abolition of war, and the creation of a constructive atmosphere "in opposition to the paralyzing influences of militarism." These ministers evidently mean business on this war question. They take their Christianity seriously. Why should not all ministers do the same? How can any priest of the church be seriously regarded as doing Christian work if he does not include an uncompromising anti-war plank in his program of action? How can any religious leader of any faith, indeed, be serving God if he be not actively opposed to war and its wanton violation of the divine spirit of brotherhood? Such suggestion would seem to be elementary, yet the Hon. Arthur Ponsonby, in that remarkable book of his, "Now Is the Time," can say with truth that the "religious element—and by religious I mean orthodox church and chapel, prayer and Bible religion—is a hindrance and not a help to the peace movement!" This is not everywhere so today, and it will not be anywhere so some day. The church will see its mis-

sion, and be first among the influences to bring in "peace on earth."

We are not envying the New York modernists—those, at least, in the Presbyterian church. Look at what has just happened to them! A Southern Fundamentalist—Dr. Thornton Whaling of the faculty of the Southern Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky—came north this summer, to New York City, to look over the Presbyterian situation. This blue-blooded Fundamentalist found, to his great satisfaction, that "the New York Presbytery has distinctly improved in its status of loyalty" . . . it is today "in no rebellious or defiant mood" . . . "it recognizes the authority of the supreme ecclesiastical court, or General Assembly, and proposes to obey the orders and deliverances of that body." Continuing, he says:

> Dr. Fosdick no longer beats the waters into fury at the First Church, the Van Dykes no longer figure in the city, and when one or two other "disturbers of the peace" have quieted down a great peace will come to the whole Church, and organic union with other beloved Presbyterian communions will be the blessed consummation.

Now what does this mean? Why, obviously, that a dyed-in-the-whole Fundamentalist came to New York, found the liberals or modernists in full retreat, and the battle for truth and freedom thus ended in favor of the reactionaries. We count this a disgrace to every so-called liberal in the New York Presbytery today. Take Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, newly elected head of the Union Theological Seminary, for example! We have long profoundly admired this man as one of the ablest clergymen in America—a superb preacher, a ripe scholar, a great church organizer and leader. His Madison Avenue institution in New York is, to our mind, one of the few preeminently successful and truly Christian churches in the country. For a time, furthermore, it looked as though Dr. Coffin were going to do what Dr. Fosdick had declined to do—lift the banner of revolt against the hosts of darkness in orthodox Christendom today, and win one more victory for truth. But behold, here is Dr. Whaling endorsing Dr. Coffin as a true evangelical; "he has the root of the matter in him," is his declaration. And we find this "root" carefully defined elsewhere in Dr. Whaling's report in terms of "the Virgin Birth, the literal resurrection of Jesus, the miraculous element in the Gospels, the atoning death of our Lord, the full inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures." We think too highly of Dr. Coffin and his liberal confrères to believe that they believe any such stuff and nonsense as this. Why don't they *say* so, then? Why do they allow a champion of medievalism to endorse them? Are we never to see an orthodox clergyman meet Truth face to face, and not run away?

Walnuts

He said:

> I was five years old when my uncles went to the Civil war. I remember the bands, and the sense of things being done—everybody getting ready for something. I didn't like the sound of the marching feet—it frightened me—it was like the trampling of the feet of a loose horse on the brick pavements, at night. But I liked the bands. I don't remember the talk or the dread. I was too little for the meetings or for the newspapers. All that I remember is the nice bands and the terrifying feet—and one thing more.

He smiled—wisdom in his face, kindness in his eyes, humor in his look:

> The only thing (he said) that I can remember feeling about the Civil war was that, now since my two uncles were going, I could have all their walnuts.

The eyes of those who were listening met his, met one another's, and the basis of a world's wrongs lay in that look.

"Now, since my two uncles were going to war, I could have all their walnuts."

A little boy, who had never had enough walnuts, who had watched the big boys come in from the woods with bulging sacks, who had seen the nuts drying on the wood-shed roof, who had taken that small share of the rich food allowed to a little boy. But now! The big boys were going to war and he could have *all* their walnuts.

The thought of one of the listeners went back to a day in the "great" war when a woman had been heard to say, quite suavely: "We can have an automobile if this war lasts a little longer."

She thought too of a bit of the narrative in a statesman's autobiography, which said that after 1914, an American banking house had permitted England to overdraw her account two hundred million dollars, on the expectation that the United States would enter the war.

Most amazing of all, she thought of the psychology of a people which can see these things stand out as evident as acts and alphabets can make them, and yet can talk of having sons to give to their country. She thought of the unquenchable idealism of men and women looking out through their sacrifices; of the sovereign aspiration of the boys themselves, who have thought more than once that they were going to war to end war. There could be no question of the idealism of these. They were not thinking about walnuts. But what of the psychology of a people who could see walnuts distributed by the billion, and yet could make no connection between walnuts and war?

For the intelligence tests, if a child gives a

wrong reply once, that is expectable. But if he is shown the truth, if he has it demonstrated to him in a variety of ways, and then on the repetition of the question, makes his original reply, he grades at something less than infantile.

If the little boy could have been told the utter horror of what his uncles were going into—Gettysburg, Chickamauga, Shiloh—then, when the recital was finished, *he* might have been expected to turn away with his mind fixed on walnuts. His intelligence test would not have been expected to rank very high. And if he could have been told how, as in Russia, a stroke of the pen and the payment of compensation to owners—would free millions of serfs, the little boy would have been unimpressed, and at the end he would have been found going toward the woodshed roof where dried his uncle's walnuts. Are we, then, a nation of little boys?

She knew that it is the very idealism of a nation which makes the situation difficult to deal with: For the dealers in the walnuts of the world trade upon that idealism. But something else is true. Besides idealisms, the people have mentality. It is the mentality which the war-makers always challenge:

"See," they say, "the idea of war is a part of man's nature. He *must* fight."

And again: "See," they say, "we must have conscription to keep up our armies."

That pair of arguments is a challenge to the mentality of any people.

She wondered how long the mentality of the peoples of the world will permit them to stop short at a primitive idealism, a child psychology, when the larger idealism and the adult psychology of a new day, wait to be realized. She wondered when walnuts would be outgrown. ZONA GALE.

All Up for Outlawry!

Attempts to unite the peace forces of America are multiplying more and more. Clear is it becoming that, if anything is to be accomplished for peace before the next war ends everything for all time, the advocates of an ordered world must unite in the face of the enemy. "Divide and rule" has served the militarists these many decades, not so much because of their own wiles as because of the folly of the peace advocates in warring among themselves over details of program and procedure.

Over a year ago, a notable "Harmony Peace Program" was put out for acceptance by the peace forces of the nation. It came to nothing, largely because so many workers could think of nothing more important and fundamental than getting the United States into the World Court.

On July 5th last, we reported in these columns (page 303) a second "Harmony Program," prepared and published under the auspices of the "World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches."

Now comes another program—and *appeal!* It appears in the September issue of the *Arbitrator,* in the form of an editorial entitled "American Peace Crusade." We print it herewith in full, that our readers may miss nothing of this call to action:

This is an appeal to all peace-loving organizations to unite in a campaign for immediate definite action to substitute law for war.

Among the proposals for which various groups have been working are the following: Education concerning the causes of war and the spirit of peace; entering the League of Nations or the World Court; cancellation of international debts; amendment depriving Congress of the power to declare war; abolition of conscription and military training; disarmament; pledging individuals never to support war in any way.

All these programs have their good points, but none of them is sufficiently acceptable to both conservatives and radicals to provide a basis upon which all can unite, nor are they quite convincing enough to arouse popular demand for action.

We therefore propose to all organizations that they unite in a crusade for peace along lines that should win the support of every sincere peace-lover from the officer of the military training camp who urges preparedness to prevent war to the absolute pacifist who pledges himself never to fight under any circumstances.

The program does not represent the exact aims of any group, but if supported by all enthusiastically will accomplish more than has resulted from the various resolutions of pacifists since the war.

The idea is to induce our Government to outlaw war by negotiating treaties with every nation providing for obligatory arbitration of all disputes that may arise between them. An appeal to whatever arbitrators are appointed, whether a committee or court, will then become the exclusive recourse after diplomacy has failed to adjust international difficulties.

Arbitration is almost universally recognized as an effective method of obtaining justice and has been employed repeatedly between nations. The United States was awarded the decision in the Alabama Claims of 1873 and against Mexico in 1902 but lost the verdict in the Norwegian shipping case of 1923. In every instance of arbitration between nations the losing country has settled the award as a debt of honor.

A nation's honor is vindicated when it has used every proper procedure for obtaining its rights or redressing its wrongs, so when arbitration is established as a final resort, the aggrieved nation will maintain its honor by submitting its grievance to an impartial committee or tribunal.

While treaties have been violated in the past, the sentiment for strict observance is increasing. Germany was not criticized for attacking France in 1914 but when she violated the treaty for the neutrality of Belgium, the civilized world denounced her. If a definite treaty is made between the United States and Great Britain, and is ratified by the people in each country, war between these ancient foes will become impossible. So also with other nations.

An agreement with any nation to submit to outsiders all controversies, including those involving national honor, is practically a national pledge on both sides to refrain

from war under all circumstances. An appeal to force would become a confession of guilt.

Several small countries have negotiated universal arbitration treaties, but the United States has made none for the peaceful settlement of every possible dispute. The questions of defensive warfare, preparedness, or disarmament will adjust themselves as well after the negotiation of arbitration treaties as under any other form of international agreement.

The outlawry of war will be accomplished, so far as the contracting parties are concerned, by the signing of a treaty under which war will become illegal. It will not be necessary to wait until all nations have agreed upon a protocol declaring war a crime, for the separate agreements will constitute amendments to existing international law which now recognizes war as legal.

Arbitration as a peace program is less controversial than the proposal to join the World Court and is not subject to the criticism aroused by proposals to disarm or abandon conscription. The United States can safely take the initiative in advocating a peaceful settlement of all disputes, for we should not become involved in any commitments that were not reciprocal.

Enrollment in this Crusade need not interfere with other activities of peace societies or publications. An agreement between them to join in arousing public opinion in favor of a practical substitute for war will bring many new supporters for the particular program in which each is most interested.

Some original method of conducting the Crusade should be devised. As a suggestion, the appeal for support might be made in this way:

A donation of 25 cents enrolls anyone as a Peace Crusader; $1 as a Peace Seeker; $5 as a Peace Counselor; $10 as a Peace Advocate; $25 as a Peace Patron; $100 as a Peace Patriot; $500 or more as a Peace Founder.

Possibly the best method would be for each organization or publication to retain whatever contributions were sent to it to defray its expenses in the Crusade.

Individual letters or petitions to the President would be more effective than one large petition. Congressmen can be induced to introduce appropriate resolutions. Popular demand has sometimes changed official action.

Prizes (for which funds are now available) will be offered for the best letters sent to President Coolidge or published in the press throughout the country. This campaign is one that everyone can understand and take part in.

Armistice Day would be a suitable time to start such a Crusade.

Who will cooperate?

This program, or "crusade," like the "harmony programs" which have preceded it, is based upon the idea of outlawry. The judgment of UNITY, which was the first advocate of this doctrine in this country, is thus again impressively confirmed! The Outlawry of War is not only the one surely effective attack upon the war system; it is the one plan upon which we can hope to secure unity of action.

The specific method of Outlawry proposed by the *Arbitrator*—negotiation by our Government of "treaties with every nation providing for obligatory arbitration of all disputes that may arise between them"—may or may not seem the wisest method of procedure. Mr. S. O. Levinson, originator of the idea of Outlawry, prefers the plan of "a general treaty among the nations agreeing to abolish the institution of war as the method of settling international disputes." But this is a detail. The main fact is that Outlawry is the way out—the one way which is consistent with all other ways; the main business is to establish this way as the program for the united endeavor of the peace forces of the world.

Those desiring to answer this appeal, and thus join the "crusade," are urged to write direct to 114 East 31st Street, New York City, care of the *Arbitrator*.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

I

The American Legion, composed of men of the last war, is getting under way as a power in American politics. It does not augur well for the country. It will take the place occupied by the G. A. R., that was organized after the Civil War of 1860. Such post-war organizations are always composed of those who "live over the war," who are conservative back-lookers. The more progressive and useful citizens who make up an army generally try to "forget it" and buckle down to the work at hand. Very soon the officers of such organizations become ambitious to be a power in politics. They are to persuade the people that those who fought to save the country are just the ones who are competent to guide the country. The G. A. R. became a baneful and often corrupt influence in American political life; the American Legion promises to become the same.

The period in American life from 1865 to 1880 was marked by low ideals and small men in political life, due in part to the influence of the "political soldier" functioning through the G. A. R. History will doubtless repeat itself from 1920 to 1940, through the political activity of the American Legion. The Legion has been getting practice for several years, in localities, by seeking to dictate the kind of an education that should obtain in the public schools, and here and there breaking up public meetings where the speech did not suit "a hundred percent American." What recently happened in the classic town of Concord, where the "first shot was fired for liberty, that was heard round the world" and home of Emerson and other "Concord philosophers," is a conspicuous sample of what has been going on at the suggestion and support of members of the Legion.

I am led to make the above statement by the fact that endorsement by the Legion is increasingly sought by candidates for public office. Every election bears witness to this. Yesterday's papers bring accounts of the annual meeting of Washington State Legion. There was a parade that is described as the "greatest in the history of the Legion." The most significant fact, however, was the presence of practically all the politicians within hundreds of

miles—U. S. senators, congressmen, labor leaders, presidents of universities—each eager to get a place on the program. Even women candidates for office were seeking for the support of the Legion, on the ground that "hubby is a Legionnaire." They are pointing to what the last Congress did for soldiers' pensions. It does not take much of a prophet to foresee that the American Legion is entering upon a chapter of its career when it will be revealed as an unwholesome influence in American political life.

II

Two members of the President's cabinet have been spending the last week in the Northwest,—that part of the land that is farthest from the Capital. They are Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, and Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis. They are both men of ability and represent two important currents in American life. Either one might become President, some day—especially Mr. Hoover. (David Starr Jordan, as long as ten years ago, singled out Mr. Hoover as a "probable President.")

Mr. Davis is the founder of the Order of the Moose—a remarkable social organization. He is also the founder of Mooseheart,—a notable community in the vicinity of Chicago. He has some of the popular qualities of Lloyd George. He is pleased when called "Jimmy." The two main ideas that Secretary Davis is scattering in his travels have to do with children, and with labor. He believes in large families, à la Roosevelt, and "keep the families together" he exhorts. He is hostile to "county-homes." "Always more than one child, for one child is spoiled. With six or seven, ten or twelve, you become a real diplomat." And he told the Chamber of Commerce, "No man ever stands up so straight as when he leans over to pick up a child." And here are some of the sentiments that fall from the head of the Labor Department, "Low wages are a thing of the past. We must keep out this so-called pauper labor. General conditions are better throughout the country than they ever have been, but we must maintain a strong high-tariff." When Secretary Davis speaks about wages he represents probably the conviction of American business. The higher the wage, the more the purchasing power and the general prosperity of the community. If American prosperity can be maintained for a long time on this doctrine, it will have proved an interesting experiment in economics. The question, of course, is, How long will American prosperity last?

Herbert Hoover is probably among the ten best known Americans. He "hooverized" America during the War, and then "hooverized" a part of Europe after the War. His mother was a Quaker preacher, which accounts for some things in him. By profession, he is an engineer with activities in many parts of the world, which accounts for other things. He was born in Oregon, which accounts for his Western traits. This fact added importance also to his visit to the Northwest, that he came to survey as engineer and head of the federal department of commerce the Columbia River basin. Further Mr. Hoover is very close to the President, in the prosecution of the government's policies. What will be done with the Columbia River is of importance to the farmers of America and of some importance to the whole world in its agricultural interests. These are some of the things he said: "The building of the dams and the completion of the project is inevitable. The sole problem is one of time. We are recovering from the major losses of the war, when as a nation we suffered an economic loss of perhaps 50 billions of dollars. Today our agricultural industry has lagged behind in the recovery. The time has arrived for taking up such projects as irrigation on a large scale, as contemplated in the Columbia River basin. We were never so free from labor disorder as now. A new conception has come to America, that the highest wage is the most advantageous wage, that it is through high wages that we increase the consuming power. Another principle has come to the American employer that he must sacrifice at all quarters rather than to reduce the average wage. American labor has responded by going on record that the basis of wages be that of the production of the individual. With the land in a state of comparative prosperity, with more children in high schools than all the rest of the world put together, with 95 per cent of our children in the grade schools, we are in a position as a people to go forward in completing great projects of irrigation such as the Columbia River project, for in the next 25 years we must provide for another 40 million people. The Columbia River project will reclaim two million acres of waste land for production, which will provide for 40,000 or 50,000 farm homes, which will eventually yield a yearly productive wealth of 360,000,000 dollars."

And so Mr. Hoover, for the past fortnight, has been touring in the Northwest, speaking to chambers of commerce, at municipal receptions, in stadiums holding ten or twenty thousand people, his speeches being broadcasted to the regions round about and Canada,—and it has been about extracting power from the water-drop, for the sake of the farmer and future generations. His name will be engraved on several tablets scattered around the Northwest, as giving the help of his personality and official approval toward turning a great desert into wheat-fields and fruit-gardens. And his mother was a Quaker preacher. Such are the romance and surprise of American life.

III

I heard Rev. Herbert A. Jump, of Ann Arbor, speak this afternoon in Plymouth Church, Seattle, on "The Untold Story of Misunderstood Mexico." There was a large audience that showed a keen interest. He spoke for two hours and there were cries of "go on." He spent another hour in answering questions. He was a member of a deputation of 22 prominent Americans who had visited Mexico for the express purpose of getting the facts. At the close of their survey, they prepared their findings, which were carefully written, and put into both Spanish and English. They were brief and unanimously approved. They were given to the representative of the Associated Press, who had "trailed us around from the beginning to the close of our stay in Mexico." *They discovered to their surprise that their findings were not carried in any American newspaper!* "Not even in my own home town of Ann Arbor!" exclaimed Mr. Jump. When they

went to Mexico they "got in behind this barrage of silence."

Why this barrage? There are three reasons: 1. The present government is a *labor* government. 2. A billion dollars of Mexican property is held by *foreign investors,* and Mr. Jump mentioned the Taft and Hearst interests. 3. The *Church* is not anxious that the Mexican government be approved by the U. S. A. What was of special interest to me in Mr. Jump's address was the kind of gasping greediness with which his words were received. His listeners behaved as if they were hearing the story of a recently discovered continent.

The movement in Mexico is a thoroughly democratic movement. . . . Calles is a genius raised up, like Lincoln, to free a people. . . . The men around him are young men, and very able. . . . Ten new schools are organized every 24 hours. . . . Mexico has the largest radio in the world, broadcasting instruction to her teachers. . . . There is an effort to eliminate bull-fighting by the introduction of boxing. . . . The government has now 40 students in the agriculture colleges of the U. S. A. who will return to teach the peons how to farm. . . . Copies of the Four Gospels are distributed to all who ask, and free. . . . The people are behind the bloodless revolution, because they are getting more land and their children more education. . . . They are not anti-Catholic, but are anti-foreign domination. . . . In the ante-chamber of the Education Building is a huge mural inscription, "The Spirit of God abides in the Heart of Man—Jesus Christ." . . . Among President Calles' first acts was the elimination of 700 "Generals" and 15,000 "employes," the introduction of the Denmark banking system. . . .

So Mr. Jump filled his hearer with "truth about Mexico" of which they had heard practically nothing due to "the effective news service of American papers." And when he said, "on the boundary-line between us and Canada there are no soldiers, but between us and Mexico are thirteen forts and 9,000 American soldiers," his hearers looked puzzled, and then cried, "Shame!" For an understanding of the United States, it will not do to overlook Mexico.

SYDNEY STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

PART II—CHAPTER I

Raychandbhai

I said in the last chapter that the sea was rough in Bombay harbor,—not an unusual thing in the Arabian Sea in June and July. It had been choppy all the way from Aden. Almost every passenger was sick; only I was in perfect form, staying on deck to see the stormy surge, and enjoying the splash of the waves. At breakfast, there would be just one or two people besides myself, eating their oatmeal porridge from plates carefully held in their laps, lest the porridge itself find its place there.

The outer storm was, to me, a symbol of the inner. But even as the former left me unperturbed, I think I can say the same thing about the latter. There was the trouble with the castemen that was to confront me. I have already referred to my helplessness in starting on my profession. And then as I was a reformer, I was taxing myself as to how best to begin certain reforms. But there was more in store for me than I knew.

My elder brother had come to meet me at the dock. He had already made the acquaintance of Dr. Mehta and his elder brother and as Dr. Mehta insisted on putting me up at his house we went there. Thus the acquaintance begun in England continued in India, and ripened into a permanent friendship between the two families.

I was pining to see my mother. I did not know that she was no more in the flesh to receive me back into her bosom. The sad news was now given me and I underwent the usual ablution. My brother had kept me ignorant of her death which took place whilst I was still in England. He wanted to spare me the blow in a foreign land. The news however, was none the less of a severe shock to me, but I must not dwell upon it. My grief was even greater than that over my father's death. Most of my cherished hopes were shattered. But I remember that I did not give myself up to any wild expression of grief. I could even check the tears and took life just as though nothing had happened.

Dr. Mehta introduced me to several friends, one of them being his brother Sjt. Revashanker Jagjivan, with whom there grew up a lifelong friendship. But the introduction that I need particularly take note of was the one to the poet Raychand or Rajachandra, the son-in-law of an elder brother of Dr. Mehta's and partner of the firm of jewelers conducted in the name of Revashanker Jagjivan. He was not above twenty-five then, but my first meeting with him convinced me that he was a man of great character and learning. He was also known as a *shatavadhani* (having the faculty of remembering or attending to a hundred things simultaneously), and Dr. Mehta recommended me to see some of his memory feats. I exhausted my vocabulary of all the European tongues I knew and asked the poet to repeat the words. He did so in the precise order in which I had given them. I envied his gift without however coming under its spell. The thing that did cast its spell over me, I came to know later. This was his wide knowledge of the scriptures, his spotless character, and his burning passion for self-realization. I saw later that this last was the only thing for which he lived. The following lines of Muktanand were always on his lips and engraved on the tablets of his heart: "I shall think myself blessed only when I see Him in every one of my daily notes. Verily He is the thread which supports Muktanand's life."

Raychandbhai's mercantile transactions covered hundreds of thousands. He was a connoisseur of pearls and diamonds. No knotty business problem was too difficult for him. But all these things were not the center round which his life revolved. The center was the passion to see God face to face.

Amongst other things on his business table there were invariably to be found some religious book and his diary. The moment he finished his business he opened the religious book or the diary. Much of his published writings is reproduction from this diary. The man who immediately on finishing his talk about heavy business transactions began to write about the hidden things of the spirit could evidently not be a business man at all, but a real seeker after Truth. And I saw him thus absorbed in godly pursuits in the midst of business, not once or twice, but many times. I never saw him lose his state of equipoise. There was no business or other selfish tie that bound him to me, and yet I enjoyed the closest association with him. I was but a briefless barrister then, and yet whenever I saw him he would engage me in conversations of a seriously religious nature. Though I was then groping and though I could not be said to have any serious interest in religious discussion, still I found his talk of absorbing interest. I have since met many a religious leader or teacher. I have tried to meet the heads of various faiths, and I must say that no one has ever made on me the impression that Raychandbhai did. His words went straight home to me. His intellect compelled as great a regard from me as his moral earnestness, and deep down in me was the conviction that he would never willingly lead me astray and would always confide to me his innermost thoughts. In my moments of spiritual crisis, therefore, he was my refuge.

And yet in spite of this regard for him I could not enthrone him in my heart as my Guru. The throne has remained vacant and my search still continues.

I believe in the Hindu theory of Guru and his importance in spiritual realization. I think there is a great deal of truth in the doctrine that true knowledge is impossible without a Guru. An imperfect teacher in mundane matters may be tolerable, but not so an imperfect one in the spiritual line. Only a perfect *gnani* deserves to be enthroned as Guru. There must, therefore, be ceaseless striving after perfection. For one gets the Guru that one deserves. Infinite striving after perfection is one's right. It is its own reward. The rest is in the hands of God.

Thus, though I could not place Raychandbhai on the throne of my heart as my Guru, we shall see how he was on many occasions my guide and helper. Three moderns have left a deep impression on my life, and captivated me: Raychandbhai by his living contact, Tolstoy by his book, "The Kingdom of God is within you," and Ruskin by his "Unto this Last." But of these more in their proper place.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai*)

A Christian Bishop on Gandhi

[Dr. Frederick Fisher, Bishop of Calcutta, went to the Far East in 1904, and stands today in the great succession of the Christian missionaries. We print his wonderful tribute to Gandhi as it appeared in an article in the *Christian Register* (August 26th).—Ed.]

"If you look for the great spiritual prophets of the world today, you cannot ignore India. You must take Mahatma Gandhi as perhaps the St. Francis and the Tolstoy of today. He is the nearest approach to the incarnation of the life of Jesus Christ that the world beholds. Mahatma Gandhi, while he is not registered in Christian statistics, is without question the product of Christian missions. The very educational system that helped to develop him was founded and conducted by missionaries. The New Testament has been his ideal book, the Sermon on the Mount his program of life, and the personal life of Jesus his ideal. His method of fasting, nonresistance, nonviolence, and the principles that surround his conduct have been derived from Jesus.

"He, of course, came from the Hindu communion called Jains, which sect was greatly influenced by Buddha. They are a Hindu religious group which does not take any life. His mother would not kill a scorpion or a serpent. All life is sacred; and Gandhi came naturally into this Christian position. The Jain eats no meat, because he will not take life. He will not even eat eggs or beans or peas, because they have the germ of reproduction within them. The vegetables he eats must be the leaf and not the kernel. He abstains from everything that he believes has actual reproductive life. Of course, any philosopher may find inconsistencies here, but the life of Gandhi can be explained only through his Jain background and his Christian education. His English is fluent and perfect. No Oxford don speaks more accurately nor with sweeter tone, and Gandhi's idealism has captured the three hundred and twenty millions of the people of India.

"His biography has been printed in a number of languages. Men like Romain Rolland have found it their ideal of manhood in this modern world. While Gandhi may be looked upon as a dreamer, he is perhaps wielding a profounder personal influence than any other living man. I have found the students of America, Britain, Australia, South Africa, China, and Japan interested in this one life more than in any other living human being."

Fears

Our petty fears enwrap us like a cloak,
Clinging to us in hampering folds
And hindering our every movement.
With a mighty shrug
Let us shake off those fears,
And step out into life free,
Fearing only one thing,—
That we shall not fully live.

MARGUERITE EMILIO.

For UNITY.

Geneva, Italy, and the Debts

[An American Observer in Europe]

Eight of us have just come from an interview with President Hindenburg. Although he is 79 years old and has been a general for nearly 50 years, he is as straight as an arrow and is full of vigor. In spite of the fears of many liberals, he has proved to be a powerful supporter of the republic and has steadily resisted the efforts of the reactionaries to restore the monarchy. He is a devout Christian and is greatly beloved by most of his countrymen. On his desk was the motto: "Work and Pray." He talked with us about the prospects for international peace, the League of Nations, and the industrial conflict.

We are having a most profitable time studying current problems in several European countries. In Geneva we studied the work of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. We came away with deepened convictions concerning the utmost importance of their international agencies and with renewed confidence in their future. It seems to me imperative that the United States enter into fuller cooperation with their activities and into full membership within the near future. There is every reason to believe that Germany will be admitted in September. The entrance of the United States into the League would enormously increase its prestige and influence as an agency for international peace.

We were intensely interested in the situation in Italy. Although many of the people we had hoped to see were away on vacation, interviews were secured with the American Ambassador in Rome, with several influential newspaper correspondents, and with a limited number of Italians. As a result of my brief stay in Rome and Florence and the reading I have done, I have reached the following conclusions with regard to the existing situation in Italy:

First, the Fascisti must be given credit for restoring and maintaining public order. It will be recalled that following the Armistice there was the utmost chaos and anarchy throughout Italy. Many demobilized soldiers were unable to find employment. There was extreme dissatisfaction with the peace treaty and great resentment against the government for consenting to what was regarded as rank injustice to Italy. In many sections there were disturbances by Communists and in numerous places they seized public buildings, industrial plants and attempted to gain control of the government. It was during this period that Mussolini and his bands of Fascisti began counter-assaults upon the revolutionaries. The Communists were divided and disorganized and unable to administer local government or operate factories. The ranks of the Fascisti swelled rapidly and soon they were in control of many municipalities. The central government became weaker and weaker and was unable to resist the march on Rome in October, 1922. Whereupon the King invited Mussolini to form a government. Since that time Mussolini has ruled with an iron hand and has preserved public order to a marked degree.

Second, the Fascist government has balanced the national budget and has helped to restore prosperity. It is true that the lira has depreciated considerably in value and is still falling, and that the standard of life in Italy is lower than in most other countries, yet the financial and economic achievements of the Fascists are real and substantial. At present the country is in a relatively prosperous condition.

The third claim of the Fascists is that they have abolished industrial warfare and the class struggle. Through the new Ministry of Corporations, the state is assuming drastic control of the entire productive process of the country. Only Fascist trade unions are legally qualified to make collective agreements. Compulsory arbitration is required. Industrial disputes that cannot be settled by employers and workers must be submitted to the decision of labor magistrates, who are appointed by the state. Strikes and lockouts are made criminal offences.

Fourth, whatever beneficial results may have been achieved by the Fascisti have been accomplished by dictatorship and violence. Forty-two million Italians are now being ruled by one individual. Mussolini is not only Prime Minister but also Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of Aviation, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Secretaary of Corporations. The power of the central government has been greatly extended and everywhere the Fascists are in control. On numerous occasions Mussolini has expressed contempt for democracy and parliamentary procedure, and has repeatedly defended dictatorship as the only effective form of government. Freedom of the press has been abolished and strict censorship installed. Severe restrictions have been placed on the right of organization and association. Labor is at the complete mercy of the government. Mussolini came into power through violence and has maintained himself in office by ruthless and relentless action against his opponents. He not only resorts to violence, he publicly defends its use. No opposition is tolerated. Most of his opponents have been assassinated or exiled.

My fifth conclusion is that Mussolini is at this moment the most dangerous man in high official position anywhere in the world. One cannot question his extraordinary ability as a leader nor his wide popularity in many circles. But he is reckless and irresponsible to a criminal degree. He is generating a degree of nationalism and is creating an expectation of imperialistic expansion that is certain to have catastrophic consequences if left unchecked. Mussolini not only indulges in the wildest sort of talk, he is capable of the most irresponsible conduct, as was indicated by the bombardment of Corfu. Of all major powers in Europe, Italy is least able to wage war. She has no coal, iron or oil, and her industries are poorly developed. She imports large quantities of food and raw materials and has an exposed seacoast of great length. Any nation that maintains control of Gibraltar and Suez could quickly starve her into submission, since these are her only exits from the Mediterranean to the ocean. Many people fear that Mussolini in order to maintain himself in office may provoke a war with Turkey or Greece. The truth of the matter is that Italy does not possess the territorial or economic resources to become a great power and for Mussolini to inflame the patriotic passion of his countrymen and arouse their expectation with regard to the restoration

of the ancient glories of Imperial Rome is an undertaking fraught with extreme menace for the peace of the world.

The economic situation both here and in England is exceedingly serious. In Germany there are nearly two million unemployed and the end of the industrial depression is not in sight. Millions of workers receive less than one dollar per day even when they are able to find work, while the cost of living is from 55 to 60 percent higher than in 1913. The people of the United States have little conception of the appalling poverty and misery to which the vast majority of the industrial workers of Europe are doomed throughout their lifetime.

Wherever we have gone the subject of reparations and war debts has been under discussion. The Dawes Plan has had most beneficial results but the real test of its practicability does not come for another year, when the heavy payments begin. Many experts are afraid that the surplus of German exports over imports will not be sufficiently large to enable her to pay the sums demanded under the Dawes Plan. In France and in England there is a widespread feeling that the United States has no *moral* right to demand repayment of the loans made for the purpose of waging war against what was regarded in Allied Countries and in America as a common enemy. There is a very grave doubt as to whether it will be possible for France or Italy or even England to continue for sixty-two years the heavy payments involved in the funding agreements, or whether we can afford to be paid in goods, the ultimate form in which payments must be made. One thing at least is certain, whatever payments are made must come from the labor of the sweated and underpaid workers of these countries. If we maintain a legalistic attitude toward these debts we shall become the most severely hated people in the world during the coming decades, whereas if we were so inclined we could use the reduction of these debts as a lever for disarmament and other social reforms in Europe.

We expect to spend most of August in Russia, returning to New York on the Aquitania on September 10th. I shall plan to send you another letter telling you of our experiences in Russia.

Berlin, Germany. KIRBY PAGE.

The Study Table

(Reviews by John Haynes Holmes)

An Outline of Religion

Rabbi Browne's first book, "Stranger Than Fiction," was reviewed and praised in these columns when it appeared something over a year ago. Now comes a worthy successor—a book* which enters a wider field, with greater brilliancy and power. "Stranger Than Fiction" was "a short history of the Jews." "This Believing World" is "a simple account of the great religions of mankind." It tries to do for comparative religion what Van Loon did for history, Macy for literature, what Durant has just done for philosophy. In other words, it is one more "outline"; its dedication to H. G. Wells tells the tale.

Mr. Browne's task was perhaps more difficult than that of any of his predecessors. To tell the complicated and profound story of religion in 334 pages is in the very nature of things impossible. The only method is simplification of the extreme type, which of course involves inaccuracy and inadequacy. Thus, when the author finds the origin of religion in fear, he is revealing only part of the mystery, as every reader of Tylor, Spencer, Frazer, Moore, and others can testify. "To explain," the rapid spread of Christianity, "one must remember," he says, "what was going on just then in the Roman Empire. A great hunger was gnawing at its vitals, a desperate hunger for salvation"—obviously, only part of the truth! The evolution of the ideas of sin, conscience, and future retribution, is traced back in a single paragraph to a single source. This is stripping things to the bone. But nobody knows this better than Mr. Browne himself, and he rightly asks that we accept the limitations of his scheme for what they are. "All that was possible," he says, "was an outline of the central plot, a hurried sketch of the main line of march followed by religion as it advanced through (the) centuries."

From this standpoint—the only just standpoint—Mr. Browne has done an able, at times a brilliant piece of work. Beginning with two chapters on "how it all began," he passes on to specific accounts of the religions of the Celts, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Indians, the Chinese, the Persians, the Jews, the Christians, and the Moslems. His chapters are sound in scholarship, as see the authorities who vouch for them, and vivid in style. Simplification is itself an art, and Rabbi Browne has mastered it.

Not the least interesting feature of the volume are the block drawings and animated maps by the author. Here Mr. Browne is a disciple of Van Loon. His portraits are weak, but many of the more imaginative pictures are dramatic and powerful. On the whole they are a distinct contribution to the text.

*"This Believing World," by Lewis Browne. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York.

The Gospel of Humanism

Unitarianism and liberal religion generally have for some time been troubled by a new heresy known as "Humanism." Bold young thinkers, risen up in various places, have persisted in talking more about man than about God, have said unusual things about prayer and worship and immortality, and have even suggested doubts about which John Fiske called "the everlasting reality of religion." It is not strange that certain outraged souls in liberal churches, forgetting all about fundamental principles of freedom, have themselves risen up to ban this thing. Fortunately, however, for the reputation of liberalism, certain other persons have asked what should always be the first question in matters of this kind—what *is* this new doctrine? Let us know what Humanism teaches, and why? And now comes one of the ablest of

the new school of thought, Rev. Curtis W. Reese, associate editor of UNITY, to answer these inquirers, in a compact little book of 85 pages!*

The reading of this book, which can be done in an hour or so, should go far to quiet the alarm of the affrighted ones. What we have here in "Humanism" is simply the logic of liberalism in religion as we have known it for a century and more in this country. It is Unitarianism and all the rest marching on to the tune of the fifes and drums of the new age. As usual, most persons do not see the line, nor feel the momentum of progress; but there are the blessed few who do, and they call it "Humanism."

Mr. Reese, understanding his audience and what they want, has not written an exposition so much as formulated and arranged a set of definitions. His volume has the content if not the actual form of a catechism. "Humanism," he says (page 3), "is not merely a method of solving the problem of knowing, but an attitude towards the problem of making life rich and full and glorius. It finds the test of worth in contribution to human well-being." Its fundamentals are "(1) the authority of evidence, (2) the supremacy of intelligence, (3) the validity of freedom, (4) the leadership of the competent, and (5) the commonwealth of man."

Having thus outlined the essentials of "Humanism," the author then proceeds to apply its principles, as thus defined, to religion, ethics, mysticism, human nature, liberalism, the church, and democracy. In all these various fields, his viewpoints and his conclusions are the same. Man is the measure of all things. Man's experience in living is the material out of which we must build all our knowledge and all our hopes. Man's reason is our sole sure guide to truth; in nothing is this book more emphatic than in its repudiation of ecstatic mysticism and its revolt against intuitional philosophy. The aim of life must be fuller and nobler living upon this earthly plane; the test of validity and worth is adjustment to and service of the individual and social needs of humanity here and now. Mr. Reese has no use for supernaturalism of any kind. He is convinced that man is the master of his own destiny, can save himself if he will, *must* save himself if he is to be saved at all. For this task, freedom is absolutely essential; all is lost if freedom is denied. Religion is a purely natural phenomenon, expressive of man's reaction to the universe in his endeavor to use it to his own best ends. All this is expressed in short, pithy, whip-lash sentences, which are at once definitions and slogans of the new movement. Thus:

Experimental experience is the humanistic test of truth (page 16).

The object of humanistic religion is the enhancement of the human estate (page 17).

The primary emphasis in humanistic religion is on exploration, discovery, and construction; not on acceptance, demonstration, and agreement (page 19).

The old religion judges man by his contribution to the gods; humanism judges the gods by their contribution to man (page 23).

It remains for religion to place human responsibility at the heart of its gospel (page 33).

The basis of moral life is freedom, its cornerstone is knowledge (page 39).

*"Humanism," by Curtis W. Reese. Published by the Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

As we hope that this book will know more than one edition, we venture to set down here certain errors which we have noted in the text. On page 2, the second "anterior" should be "interior"; on page 37, "III" appears instead of "I", and, on the next page, "IV" instead of "III"; on page 44, "unpopularized" bothers us—is not some other word intended; on page 48, there is a superfluous "and"; on page 79, a "t" is missing from "unfortunate".

Mr. Reese has written an able primer of the new gospel. We hope that its success will stir him to a fuller, richer statement of its meaning.

Old and New

To one trained in the thought and spirit of the Unitarian Church, it is a curious experience to take up a new book on religion and find it discussing, with great elaboration of detail, such theological problems as the infallibility of the Bible, the deity of Christ, "atonement and sacrifice," the Trinity, evolution, etc. Heavens and earth! These questions were settled at least a half century ago were they not? Why drag them out of their graves, and hold fresh autopsies upon their mouldering bones?

But—these questions are *not* dead. That's just the point! They may be dead to those trained in the great tradition of Channing, Parker, Emerson, Martineau, Savage. But these people are few. To the great multitudes of Christians, these questions have not yet been opened up for free discussion. The old creeds survive, the ancient doctrines flourish, Fundamentalism dominates in myriads of churches.

It is this fact, coupled with the active contemporary controversies between Fundamentalists, Modernists and Liberals, which makes Dr. Vrooman's book* both timely and valuable. This volume is an elaborately documented survey of what the author calls "the old faith and the new reformation." To the Liberal, the book brings little that is new either in presentation or conclusion. The old familiar ground of doctrinal controversy is covered with thoroughness, excellent spirit, broad and inclusive outlook, and ample scholarship. Dr. Vrooman seems to have read everything worth reading, and he has mastered his sources with extraordinary competency. But he could obviously bring little that is new to the progressive mind.

But it is not for this mind, obviously, that the book was written! We are certain that the author had in view, in the writing of his pages, the thousands of orthodox who are adrift, and need chart and compass for the truth. This explains the careful statement, with excellent authorities duly quoted, which Dr. Vrooman gives of the orthodox doctrinal position on each subject, the historic origin of that position, and its ethical and spiritual implications. It is against such a background that he throws his liberal ideas—and, of course, with enormous effectiveness.

Dr. Vrooman has done an able piece of work. He has covered practically all the ground in controversy. I miss nothing but miracles, and these appear incidentally. His book is well put together, well written, tolerant yet vigorous and straight—and a veritable encyclopedia of sources. We commend it, especially to our orthodox friends.

*"Progressive Christianity," by William A. Vrooman. Published by Macmillan.

Correspondence

Prohibition—The Other Side

Editor of UNITY:

I rarely find myself out of agreement with your opinions concerning current vital issues, but the tone you employ in a recent editorial of yours on a phase of the prohibition question smatters strongly of superciliousness and intolerance.

I know you will pardon this frankness from one so much younger than yourself both in years and in experience. But please remember that while your sincerity and conviction in the highly controversial matter concerning prohibition may not be questioned, neither should the opinions and convictions of those who by training, experience, study, and honest attempt to arrive at the truth have come to hold quite contrary views be held under suspicion. Now, I must say that I find your tone in arguing the case for prohibition often as aggressively assertive and superciliously unkind as that of the worst "wets." . . .

I am speaking from a seventeen years' experience in the Protestant ministry among people who have always enjoyed the use of beer, wine and even whiskey and who by tradition and training have come to look upon this use as wholly legitimate and proper. I have always stood for temperance, have always been an uncompromising foe of the American saloon, and I believe that my experience in the matter and my judgment, which has led me to see much good in the point of view of the total abstainer and much sense and sanity in the view of his opponent, qualify me to speak with as much authority as any advocate of prohibition, particularly the type that refuses to see any merit or validity in another point of view no matter how honestly arrived at or how earnestly held.

Now, I have found that since prohibition, drinking in its most vicious and brutal forms, as well as in its milder appearances (home-brew, home-made wines), has not abated, but rather increased. I believe that, generally speaking, people in our land are drinking more spirituous beverages today than in the days before prohibition. This is a very simple and common observation that anyone may make today who is not blinded by his own conceits or hampered by his prejudices. I wish I might have time and space to write you of my experiences in this Chicago suburb of 10,000 population. They are no different from previous experiences in a small lumber-town of northern Wisconsin where I had the opportunity to observe the wholesome and otherwise effects of the eighteenth amendment for almost three years. I have no reason to assume that either Oconto, Wisconsin, or Elmhurst, Illinois, could not pass for an average American town.

Here we are surrounded on all hands by road-houses and blind pigs and speak-easies where not only beer and wine of forbidden alcoholic percentage are freely and brazenly dispensed but where good bonded whiskey down to the vilest moonshine may be had for the asking plus the proper identification. I know from personal experience and from the reliable testimony of my own eyes and ears that officers of the law, judges, states' attorneys, lawyers of all types, preachers, teachers, business and professional men of the highest standing in community and church, orthodox or liberal, either privately disregard the law against the making and dispensing of alcoholic beverage or publicly ridicule and flout it.

Let me say that very rarely in pre-prohibition days have I been invited to "drink" in the homes of my parishioners, although these have at all times been "drinking people." Today I actually cannot make a call or visit without encountering an offer to partake of some illegitimate draught whose origin goes back to grape, black and elderberry, cherry, currant, dandelion, orange, rhubarb, beet, potatoe, and, if my taste serves me right, even shoe-leather and dish-water. I need not mention the tragic results that so often in the home of would-be innocent offenders accompany the fatal experiments at moonshine and synthetic gin. Surely, neither you nor any other intelligent person would advise that under such circumstances I have a Federal Agent with me at all times or turn over to the department of justice the names of these offenders. . . . Don't talk to me about government census and reports; if one thing cannot under our present system be ascertained with any degree of definiteness, it is the amount of vile and "green" wine, beer, and liquor that is being consumed. Until our department of justice has an agent in every American home it will never know just how much more our people are drinking today than eight years ago, but personal experience among our average citizens serves a pretty sure and safe indication.

No, the cause of temperance and moderation, of public health, prosperity and safety, will not be advanced until we open our eyes to what seem to me obvious facts: (1) that prohibition, while it may have produced some desirable fruits, is on the whole a failure, and that even time and further enforcement measures will not make it legally and morally operative and effective; (2) prohibition, because it represents a type of intolerably sumptuary legislation, has encouraged indiscriminate disregard for law and order, challenged hypocrisy and duplicity, and in an alarming manner raised the spectre of moral anarchy and spiritual dissoluteness; (3) prohibition shows the inevitable tyranny and oppression that must result where a majority attempts to regulate habits and appetites before assuring the foundations of enlightened public opinion by the route of education and persuasion.

Please remember that one side or opinion rarely ever represents the whole truth. It seems to me that you have fallen into the grave error of most of my prohibitionist friends who assume that in this matter their point of view is always and under all circumstances correct, that surely their cause must be righteous and good because they have achieved legislative sanction. There are people on the other side of the fence as honest, probably as well informed and intelligent, and surely as loyal to the cause of truth and righteousness as you and any other convinced advocate of prohibition.

While I cannot even now see the wrong in moderate use of beer, wine, or even whiskey, while I recognize the ever-present danger in the abuse of either, while personally I would aid and encourage any campaign that seeks to minimize the use of these beverages (that are not necessary to human welfare while they may prove disastrous) by a campaign of education and enlightenment, while I would fight the return of the saloon and its iniquitous hold on politics with every legitimate weapon, yet I honestly feel that prohibition has not fulfilled and cannot fulfill its object because it is neither morally sanctioned, nor politically wise, nor legislatively correct.

Surely I believe that you and other ardent friends of prohibition are seriously hurting the cause of temperance and eventual actual prohibition by your dogmatic and self-assertive manner of propagandizing a thing that to so many of us seems at the least premature as legislation, wholly unwarranted from a moral or democratic point of view, and so far unsupported by even moderate success.

I often wonder why we can't be a little more tolerant of one another's opinions even in this matter. I am willing to grant the prohibitionist his conviction and to work with him for the enforcement of a law that I myself consider nothing short of immoral and oppressive, but I shall resent most bitterly any assumption on his part of moral superiority and spiritual leadership before he has shown that even in so personal an issue as prohibition seems to be to many of us he can argue fairly, fight squarely, and write and talk like a gentleman.

I hope to read much more from your pen on this topic, but I hope that you will find it possible to moderate your tone to that point where those who honestly disagree with you need not feel that you are ridiculing or even anathematizing them because of their disagreement.

KARL M. CHWOROWSKY,
Pastor, St. Peter's Evangelical Church.
Elmhurst, Illinois.

The Lake Denmark Explosion

Editor of UNITY:

Your second and third editorials in the August 2nd issue are very good. It is not surprising that things intended for the destruction of human life destroy such life! If the thoroughgoing "pacifists" had had their way there would have been *no* ammunition stored at Lake Denmark to be struck by lightning, no matter how many times lightning might strike in that locality.

We certainly need the Frazier Constitutional Amend-

The Field

"The World is my country,
to do good is my Religion."

UNCLE SAM INTERVIEWS SOME WELL KNOWN WAR NEUTRALS

Say, boys, how do you explain this puzzling situation? You all had a lot more ships and men sunk by the U-boats during the war than I had. You were in the front and back yard of the war during the four years it was raging, with pieces of it flying over the fence. Both sides violated your neutrality, but you sat tight and stood pat even though history knows you are a proud, husky, and courageous bunch. You stayed out of the war.

I was on the other side of a great ocean. Three or four thousand miles from the nearest cannon. My folks didn't care to mix in the fight; at least, they said so as late as November, 1916. They thought it was a kind of a family row.

But we joined up in April, 1917, and announced that we were fighting to save civilization. What I can't exactly understand is why you fellows didn't hop in, too, if old Mr. Hiram W. Civilization was in such danger.

However, to make a long story short, I finally got in, after being cussed for not getting in and then cussed for getting in so late; raised four million soldiers, sent a couple million to France, left a lot of 'em over there, ran up the national debt from one billion to twenty-six billions, helped the Allies with ships, ships, and more ships when they desperately needed them, sent food when they couldn't get enough elsewhere, lent 'em money when they were broke, sent 'em men when they desperately needed them; backs to the wall; and, finally, by sheer weight of resources, tipped the scales to victory.

In the peace negotiations, based on the fourteen points, which soon got more or less lost in the shuffle, I helped the Allies to some choice pickings in the way of several million square miles of territory, but when I wanted the little island of Yap they blocked me and offered, instead, the mandate for Armenia, which they haven't been able to get anybody to accept to this day. There's no oil there.

I even kept lending 'em billions after the fighting was all over and Civilization had been saved from King George's Cousin Bill.

Now here we are, eight years after the war. They call me a selfish, grasping, dollar-pinching, miserly Uncle Shylock.

They all like you boys who stood on the side lines during the scrap, and they don't like me, who lent 'em a hand.

It gets me, boys. How do you explain it? Would I be as popular as you if I'd stayed out or would you have been as unpopular as I if you'd gone in? Figure it out, boys, and drop me a post card.

—From Chicago Daily Tribune of September 7, 1926.

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ment to relieve the Navy Department (and War Department) of the Constitutional duty of preparing to murder citizens of other countries.

Of course, to remove the underlying economic incentive for preparation for war, we need to get people to realize that adult human work is the one truly *exchangeable* thing, and must be measured by a definite unit of its duration. That everything else should be free from price. Then there would be no trade rivalries of such a nature as to lead to war. And no profit incentive for preparing to destroy others.

Phoenix, Arizona. VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW.

Notice to Special Subscribers

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"DEVELOPMENT"

Chapters on evolution in standard biologies intended for Texas public schools have been cut out by Henry Holt & Company and the Macmillan Company on the order of the Texas State Textbook Commission. Wherever in the biologies the word evolution appeared, "development" has been substituted. A chart depicting man as the fruit of an immense evolutionary tree has been eliminated, together with whole chapters describing the evolution of higher animals. Textbooks on physiology and hygiene have been similarly censured.—*Civil Liberties Union.*

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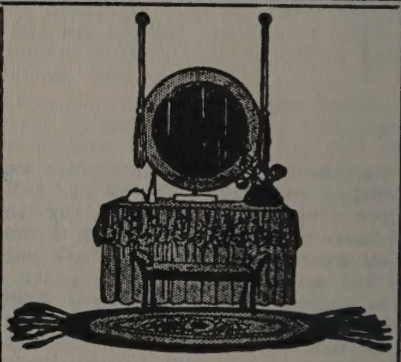

IN SEPTEMBER

Comes another putting in order of the home. Vacations over, children starting back to school, social activities soon to commence, many things to be cleansed and conditioned. All of which suggests the use of this service, which so expertly will restore your clothing and the rugs and fabrics of your home.

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